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## A STUDY OF PRISON MANAGEMENT.

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OUR failure in the handling of criminals with reference to their reformation, and the proportionate security of society and decrease of taxation, is due largely to the fact that we have considered the problem as physical, and not psychological. The effort has been to improve prisons and the physical condition and environment of prisoners. This effort has been directed by sentiment, rather than upon principles of economy and a study of human nature. It has been assumed that if convicts were treated with more kindness, if they were lodged in prisons well warmed and well ventilated, light and airy, in cells more roomy and comfortable, if they had better food and more privileges (graduated on good deportment), they would be more likely to reform and to lead honest lives after their discharge.

This movement was dictated by philanthropic motives, and I am far from saying that it is all wrong. But it has not produced the results that were expected; and it seems to me that the revolt in the public mind against what is called the "coddling" system is justified by facts and results. The modern model prison is a costly and architecturally imposing structure;

it is safer to lodge in and freer from odors than most hotels; its cells are well warmed, lighted with gas, and comfortable; it has a better dietary than most of its inmates are accustomed to; it has bath-rooms, a library, often large and well selected; an admirably arranged hospital; a cheerful chapel, garnished with frescoes and improving texts; there are Sunday services and Sunday-schools; there is a chaplain who visits the prisoners to distribute books and tracts, and converse on religious topics; there are lectures and readings and occasional musical concerts by the best talent; sometimes holidays are given; there are extra dinners on Thanksgiving day, Christmas day, and the Fourth of July, when the delicacies of the season stimulate the holiday and patriotic sentiments; and in most State-prisons a man may earn a considerable abatement of his sentence by good behavior.

The sanitary condition of most of these model prisons is good; they are very good refuges in which to recuperate the system impaired by excesses and crime. The discipline is excellent. It is, in fact, improved by the good treatment and privileges granted. In some prisons this is carried to a perfection that is boasted of, and that wins the admiration of visitors; the prisoners move like a machine, they never speak, they never look up. This appears to be admirable. In some prisons, however, there are relaxations from the severe rules. If the men dine at a common mess, they are permitted to talk while at table; the privilege being withdrawn if they abuse it and become noisy and quarrelsome. The uniform close-crop of the hair is not always insisted on, and the better prisons are discarding the striped or motley prison dress, as tending simply to degrade the men and serving no good purpose whatever.

There is no doubt that the convicts like the new prisons better than the old. They have their preferences in them as other people have in hotels. Some prisons have a bad reputation with the criminal fraternity, and I fancy they rather shun the States where these exist. I remember reading some time ago a newspaper communication from an old convict, a man who had experience in many prisons in different parts of the Union, who compared the diet in each, and spoke very feelingly and bitterly of that in one of them (at Wethersfield, Conn.) for its lack of variety. He wrote with a natural indignation, and I have no doubt had the sympathy of a good many philanthro-

pists and sentimentalists. And it did seem an outrage (from one point of view of the management of prisons) that he should not have green corn twice a week in the season, and fresh tomatoes, which are given in a prison he named. A professional criminal, whose sole occupation is crime, has a right to demand of modern civilization that it should keep pace with itself in the matter of prisons, and provide him agreeable quarters during the periods of his temporary seclusion from general society. Nor is the question of economy wholly overlooked. Many of our prisons pay their way; that is, the prisoners earn enough at hard labor (which is no harder as to hours or amount than free labor), under the contract or other system, to pay the running expenses of the establishment—allowing nothing for interest on the cost, or for repairs and improvements. This is reasonable. The criminal has already cost the State enough; he ought to support himself while in confinement. The taxpayers certainly have a right to demand this. And under this sort of prison system that we are now considering, the first requisite should be that it be self-supporting.

The reform in prison construction and management was very much needed, and I am not anxious now to express an opinion whether or not it has gone too far. But it must be noted that along with this movement has grown up a sickly sentimentality about criminals which has gone altogether too far, and which, under the guise of "humanity" and philanthropy, confounds all moral distinctions. The mawkish sympathy of good and soft-headed women with the most degraded and persistent criminals of the male sex is one of the signs of an unhealthy public sentiment. A self-respecting murderer is obliged to write upon his cards "no flowers." I think it will not be denied that our civilization, which has considerably raised the average of human life, tends to foster and increase the number of weaklings, incompetents, and criminally inclined. Unsystematic charity increases pauperism, and unphilosophical leniency towards the criminal class increases that class.

It seems to me that we have either gone too far, or we have not gone far enough. If our treatment of the incompetent and vicious is to keep pace with our general civilization, we must resort to more radical measures. The plan of systematized charity, which cultivates independence instead of dependence, and the increased attention given to the very young children

who by their situation and inheritance are criminally inclined, are steps in the right direction. Probably it will be more and more evident that it is the best economy for the State to spend money liberally on those who are liable to become dependents and criminals. If the State were to show as much energy in this direction as it does in police supervision and the capture and conviction of criminals, it is certain that a marked improvement would be felt in society within a generation. But we are now considering the treatment of criminals, and I can best illustrate what I wish to bring into relief by an example.

My proposition is, that there is very little difference between our worst State-prisons and our best in the effect produced upon convicts as to reformation or a reduction of the criminal class. The State-prison at Wethersfield, Conn., is one of the old type. It is an old and ram-shackle establishment, patched up from time to time, and altogether a gloomy and depressing place. It is, however, well managed; it is made to pay about its running expenses; and many of the modern alleviations of prison life are applied there—a library, occasional entertainments, a diminution of time of sentence for good conduct, and so on, whatever such a place is capable of in the way of comfort consistent with the system. But the inmates are the most discouraging feature of the exhibition. They are in appearance depressed, degraded, down-looking, physically sluggish, mentally and morally tending to more and more degradation. There is no hope or suggestion of improvement in them. The discipline is good, and the men earn time by good conduct, but there are no evidences that the alleviations (which take from the former terrors of prison life) are working the least moral change. It is a most depressing and dispiriting sight.

Would any change for the better be wrought if the environment were more cheerful? The State-prison at Cranston, R. I., is a new, handsome, granite building, with the modern improvements. Perfectly lighted and ventilated, with roomy cells, a common mess-room, an admirable hospital, a more than usually varied dietary, with a library, and all the privileges that humanity can suggest as consistent with discipline and security, it is as little gloomy and depressing as a State-prison well can be. Having occasion recently to look into this matter officially, I confess that I expected to find at Cranston a very different state of affairs as to the convicts from that existing at Wethersfield.

The improved physical conditions ought to show some moral and physical uplift in the men. I was totally disappointed. Here were the same hang-dog, depressed, hopeless, heavy lot of convicts. The two prisons might change inmates, and no visitor would know the difference. You might expect just as little reformation in one as in the other. We are not considering now any question of sentiment or humanity; and the conclusion was forced upon me that, so far as the real interests of society are concerned, nothing is gained by converting prisons into comfortable hotels.

Since we have abolished punishments, and are not ready to take any radical steps for reformation, it would be better to make prison life so hard that detention would be a punishment in itself. The men should earn their living at hard labor, and be made to feel the weight of their transgressions. If professional and confirmed criminals, men who declare by undergoing second conviction for a felony that they have made preying upon society their business, who belong, in short, to a pretty well defined criminal class, cannot be removed altogether from troubling this world, they ought to be locked up permanently and made to earn their living. They are of no sort of use in the world, and are an expense and a danger to society. The rose-water treatment has no effect on this class, as a rule. Holidays, occasional fine dinners, concerts, lectures, flowers—we are going ridiculously far in this direction, unless we add a radical something to this sort of treatment that will touch the life of the man, and tend to change his nature and inclination. Our great prisons now are little better than seminaries and nurseries of crime. We are contributing to the breeding of a criminal class, which propagates itself under favoring conditions, aided by a misdirected philanthropy. Unless we adopt a plan radically different from the present one, it would be better to abandon all this coddling of the determined criminal class, leave it to its fate, and direct the energies of the State to cutting off the supply, by looking after the children who from infancy are on the predetermined road to join it.

Can anything better be done with men convicted of State-prison offenses? It is with the hope of throwing some light on this question that I wish to give a brief and informal account of what is going on in the Reformatory at Elmira, New York, under the superintendency of Mr. Z. R. Brockway. Here is an

experiment in the personal treatment of convicts, unique, so far as I know, in the world; and I suppose it is an open question whether anybody except Mr. Brockway could carry it on. It is well to say, by way of preliminary, that the theory of indeterminate sentences, held by Mr. Brockway and other prison reformers, has been by many regarded as impracticable of operation, for want of a tribunal to say when a man is sufficiently reformed for his sentence to terminate. For the rôle of hypocrisy is one of the easiest for a rogue to play.

The Elmira Reformatory, which cost more than it should (being built in New York), is a somewhat pretentious building, situated on a commanding eminence. It need not be particularly described, further than to say that in point of arrangement, light, air, roominess, ventilation, etc., it conforms to modern notions. It is as little gloomy and depressing as a place of penal confinement can be. What distinguishes it, however, is that it is provided with school-rooms sufficient for the accommodation of all its inmates. And it is, as we shall see, a great educational establishment, the entrance to which is through the door of crime. The key-note of it is compulsory education. The qualifications for admission to it are that the man convicted of a State-prison offense shall be between the ages of sixteen and thirty, and that he has not been in State-prison before. In his discretion any judge in the State may send a convict of this description to Elmira. He is sentenced to the Reformatory subject to the rules of that institution, not for a definite term; but he cannot be detained there longer than the maximum for which he might have been sentenced under the law. For instance, if for burglary he might have been sentenced to State-prison for ten years, he may be held at Elmira for ten years; but he may, in the discretion of the board of managers, who are appointed by the Governor, be discharged in one year. The institution is practically managed by the superintendent. The discharges are made only by the board, who consider the man's record in the prison, and the probabilities, from all the evidence concerning him, that he will behave if set at liberty. He must have a perfect record before the board consider his case; and, besides this, the board must have confidence in his will and ability to live up to it.

Let us follow a man in this institutional life. Upon his reception he is subjected to a bath, clad in the plain suit that is

worn by the intermediate grade, and locked up in a cell for a day or two, to give him time for reflection. He is then taken before the superintendent, who makes a thorough examination of him, a complete diagnosis of his physical, mental, and moral condition. His antecedents are ascertained, the habits and occupation of his parents (and grandparents, if possible), whether they were temperate or intemperate, lived cleanly and honestly, or otherwise; what the man's home life was, if he had any, and at how early years he was turned loose upon the world; what have been his habits and associations up to the commission of the crime for which he was sentenced. An examination is then made of his physical condition, his inheritances, and not simply the actual state of his health, but his physical texture, whether fine or coarse-grained. His intellectual capacity is next ascertained, and then his acquirements. Is he bright or dull, can he read and write, and how far has his education gone? Inquiry is then made into his moral condition; has he any sensibility, any shame, any susceptibility to praise or blame? What sort of moral fiber has he? After a keen investigation of an hour or so, Mr. Brockway thoroughly knows his man; long practice and a very deep knowledge of human nature enable him to diagnose the case pretty accurately. The subject finds himself in the presence of a man who probably wins his confidence, and whom, he very soon discovers, it is of no use to try to deceive. The result of this searching examination is entered at length on the page of a big ledger; the superintendent commonly outlines at the bottom the proposed treatment; and the new-comer is instructed in the rules of the institution and what is expected of him, and what he must do in order to "get out."

He goes at first into the second, or intermediate, grade, and it depends upon himself whether he goes up to the first or down to the third. He is made to understand the minute rules of behavior that he must attend to; he is assigned to the class in school fitted to his capacity and acquirements, and he is put into the work-shop that is best adapted to his health and training. He is informed of the maximum time for which he can be detained, and that he can, by perfect conduct in these lines of effort, win his release in one year. To effect this he must gain a certain number of credit marks; and these credit marks are constantly liable to be canceled by negligence or ill-behavior. He is tested at every step by the mark system. In the shop he is marked



according to his diligence, his sharp attention to his work, his voluntariness at his labor. If he is listless, slights his work, and does not give his mind and energy to it, he not only misses credit marks, but will get discredit marks. There is no escape for him; he must work with a will. In behavior he must be perfect in obedience of the many and minute rules laid down, of which he is furnished a printed copy. In school he is required to study according to his capacity, and the marking is much the same as in a well-regulated high-school. But while he must be perfect in work and behavior, he will pass in school if he gains 75 in the scale of 100. As soon as he enters upon this course of discipline and study, an account is opened with him in another big ledger.

The process of his release is this: If he is reported perfect in three things,—labor, school, and conduct,—for each of which three marks are required each month, making nine in all, for six months, he is advanced to the first grade. If he remains perfect in the first grade for six months more, gaining nine good marks each month, he may then, at the discretion of the managers, be sent out on his parole. But he is not released on parole until a place is found for him, in which he can get employment and earn his living. If his friends cannot find a place for him, or he will not be received back into his former employment, if he had any, the institution places him by means of correspondence. On parole he must report his conduct and condition every month to the superintendent, and this report must be indorsed by some one of known character. If the paroled continues to behave himself for six months, he receives his final discharge; if he backslides, he is rearrested, brought back, and must begin over again.

The grades are three, and they mark considerable difference in privileges. The first-grade men wear a light blue uniform with a military cap. They occupy better cells than the others. They dine together in the large mess-room, at small tables, accommodating eight to twelve, and are permitted to talk freely, and to spend the noon-hour in social intercourse. Up till recently a summary of the news of the day, culled from the newspapers, was read to them once a week at table, but there is a substitute for that now. They have somewhat better food than the other grades. When they march from cells to work-shops, to dining-room, etc., they march in columns of four, and they are officered

by captains and sergeants, chosen by the superintendent from their own number. Monitors in the corridors, clerks, and officers for the next grade are chosen from them. Besides their privileges, a measure of confidence is reposed in them, but they are also under strict discipline, and are liable to be degraded for neglect of duty or failure to report delinquencies in their capacity as monitors and sub-officers. The second, or intermediate, grade wear citizens' dress, with Scotch caps. They march in columns of two, officered by members of the first grade. They take their meals in their cells, and have generally less privileges than the first grade. The third, or convict, grade wear suits of red clothes, eat in their cells, march in the degraded prison lock-step, are officered by officers of the institution, and in various ways are made to feel the dishonor of their position and greater rigors of prison life. It should be noted that the three grades mingle in the work-shops and in the schools, for they take places in them on other standards than that of conduct.

It will be seen from this slight sketch that it is not an easy matter to get out of the Elmira Reformatory before the expiration of the maximum sentence. Three things are required, — perfect conduct, perfect diligence, and willingness in labor, — with as good progress in school as the capacity of the man admits. A man may do well in two, but be sent into the third grade for delinquency in the third. He may work well and study well, but if he does not behave, down he goes. He may work well and behave, but if he will not study, he is sent down. Here is a three-ply strand that must be woven daily, and the task is not easy. There can be no shamming, no successful hypocrisy; the tests are too searching. Almost every new-comer tries some game; he affects religion, or this and that hypocrisy, but he is dealing with a new set of circumstances, and with men a good deal sharper than he is; and after trying his wits in vain, he generally gives it up, and "comes down to business." Most of them run the gamut up and down the grades before they strike a pace of performance that will carry them to the parole. An examination of the conduct-ledger shows a curious inequality of behavior; the lines of performance are like the isothermal lines across our continent. When a man drops into the third grade from the first or second, it is not easy to regain his standing. But from the beginning every man, by going into the intermediate grade, is given a fair chance to rise or fall.

The most striking thing about the institution is the cultivation of individual responsibility; a man's progress depends upon himself.

The education is strictly compulsory. Such a motive was never before given men to study, for release depends upon diligence and understanding of the matter in hand. There are seven classes: the two higher classes, A and B, and a supplementary class, first and second intermediate classes, and first and second primary classes. The teaching is largely oral and by lectures, and in the higher classes printed outlines of the lectures, with questions, are distributed to the pupils. The students take notes. The examinations are monthly, and in the higher classes by written examination papers, in which a knowledge of the subject must be shown, by illustrations or otherwise, and a mere parroting or memorizing of words and phrases will not pass.

Eight hours a day labor is required; this is the State limit. There is time for study after labor hours and in the evening. In each cell is a gas-light, and books are furnished when needed. The schools are in the evening. They are taught, for the most part, by able men outside the institution, who have some compensation; but some classes are conducted by inmates. The education runs from the rudiments — reading, writing, and arithmetic — up through grammar, higher mathematics, and geography, to history, specially American and English history, politics, English literature, such knowledge of law and the government of society as is necessary to make one an intelligent citizen, and political economy. None of these things are superficially taught; they are drilled in and in. The course in English literature, for example, is as thorough as in any school, and men are studying their Shakespeare and Chaucer and other masters with keen diligence and relish. But the end of education kept in view, in history, elementary law and morals, political economy, etc., is the fitting of the student to play his part well as a citizen, and to be an orderly member of society. It is also intended to broaden his view of life and his interest in it as an orderly process, and to discipline his perverted faculties. The first attempt is to awaken the convict's mind, to arouse an interest in himself and his welfare. This is often very difficult. These are not normal minds or dispositions. By inheritance or bad practices their natures are warped. Most of them have neither the knowledge nor the will to do right. It is a mistake to suppose that crimi-

nals are naturally bright. The moral failure has affected the intellect in most cases. If they are bright, it is usually in a narrow line, the development of a ferret-like cunning and smartness. They lack intellectual breadth as they do moral stability. They are uncertain in all their operations; cannot long hold steadily one course; are continually falling and going to pieces. They are, in short, in an abnormal condition, and any real growth or reformation must be radical, built up from the foundations. The skill of the superintendent is shown in awakening the interest, in arousing hope and ambition, and creating a moral steadiness of will.

The great incentive, of course, at first is the man's desire to regain his liberty. But there are reserve forces. If a man is incorrigible and a hopeless case, the superintendent may transfer him to a State-prison. He may degrade him in rank, cut off his privileges, put him in solitary confinement, or punish him physically by a little judicious "strapping" or "spanking." Punishment is never inflicted except by the superintendent himself, never in any passion, and it almost always gives the man the little start he needed in good conduct. It is so managed that the man owns this himself, is not brutalized or humiliated by it, and rarely (never, so far as I have heard) cherishes any resentment on account of it. It seems to be the little reserve of physical force behind the moral that is needed in all good government. I should say that it is a good deal more effectual than the traditional flogging by which English school-boys had the Latin and Greek grammars driven into them.

This great industrial and educational establishment contains now a little over six hundred prisoners. On Sunday they all assemble in the chapel in the afternoon and evening for religious exercises; singing — a very good choir of a hundred voices, and some good soloists; generally a sermon in the afternoon, and either a sermon or lecture in the evening by volunteer clergymen, the best that can be induced to come. Sometimes there is a lecture or extemporaneous talk or reading, in place of the sermon. For special occasions the choir practices some set piece; for Christmas one of the prisoners had composed a very pretty carol, which they were practicing. Sunday morning the casuistry or practical morality class meets in the chapel. This numbers about two hundred, and is selected from all grades according to intellectual brightness and attainments. It is for the discussion

of questions relating to morals and the conduct of life. The men all take notes, for they must pass a written examination on what they hear. The conductor reads or lectures, and free but orderly discussion takes place. The first Sunday the writer was present, they were concluding the reading of Socrates. Each man had a printed syllabus of the morning's reading, with questions appended. The next Sunday would be a review preparatory to examination. Each man took notes as the reading went on. Questions were asked and opinions given, the interlocutor raising his hand and rising when recognized by the lecturer. Such absorbed attention I have seldom seen in a class-room. They are obliged to be alert. These men are not merely going through a process of training to please their relatives or to gratify their own tastes; they are putting all their energies into the business in hand to win marks to get out of prison. And this is true in all the classes. Never was compulsory education so completely applied. But it must be confessed, in this case, that the class had got thoroughly interested in the subject. The expression of their faces was that of aroused intelligence. Nothing seemed lost on the majority of them; the finest points made by Socrates, his searching moral distinctions, his humor, you could see were taken instantly, by the expression of their faces. The discussions and the essays in this class show a most remarkable grasp, subtlety, penetration, and power of drawing fine moral distinctions; and the vigor and fitness of the language in which they are couched are not the least notable part of the display. The previous Sunday there had been a lively discussion of the question, "Is Honesty the best Policy?" The study of the morality of Socrates led the class naturally, and by their request, to a study of the morality of Jesus and the New Testament, though not at all as a religious inquiry; and thus a result was reached in moral investigation that a clergyman, beginning at the other end, probably never could have brought this mixed and abnormal class to attempt willingly. For these men are not only criminals, warped and prejudiced against any religious teaching, but they are of all sects by inheritance, perhaps half the number Catholics, and fifty of them Hebrews. Among men that have abandoned all practice of religion it would be perfectly easy to stir up a bitter theological feeling. The lecture on the second Sunday I was present was introductory on the development of religions, preparatory to such a study of the New Testament morality as

had been given to that of Socrates. Before I quit this Sunday audience, I ought to say that, when the six hundred are assembled, it is one of the most alert and quickly responsive I have ever seen.

The education of the institution is intended to be industrial as well as scholastic. A few of those best fitted for it are taught telegraphy, and others stenography. Lessons in drawing and design are given; and I saw some very creditable designs for tiles and mantel-pieces, done by the pupils. Teaching specific industries is to be carried out more generally in future, the object being to fit the discharged to earn a living honestly, as carpenters, workers in metals, etc. The class in carpentry was very successful.

This Reformatory is a busy place; it has the aspect, as I said, of a great industrial and educational establishment. What first impresses one accustomed to visit prisons is the aroused physical life. The old convict heaviness and hopeless inertness of flesh are gone—gone with the depressing hang-dog look. The men work, move about, run up and down stairs, with alertness and vigor, and apparent enjoyment of motion. We see here the well-known criminal type of head, but the expression of face is altogether changed; stupidity and hopelessness have given place to intelligence and ambition. The change is astonishing. New life has been awakened all through the mass; and the mental and physical activity, first aroused by the desire to get out, has now in a large number of the prisoners passed into a desire to know something and to be somebody.

I was at first surprised to learn that men do not like to be sent to this institution; many of them, perhaps most of them, would prefer to go to a regular State-prison. Their whole nature revolts against the idea of discipline, of study, of reform. They like crime and an irregular life, and they hate any influences to turn them away from it. They hate the notion of behaving, as some boys out of prison hate moral restraint and religious instruction. They resent the pressure as long as they can; and some of them, of course, never do surrender, and go out unregenerate. It is admitted that a certain percentage of criminals here are incorrigible. It is believed, however, that this percentage could be greatly reduced by universal indeterminate sentences, giving a longer time to work on obdurate natures.

The Reformatory has been in operation eight years. The *morale* in it has been gradually changing for the better. At first the heroes (as in other prisons) were the biggest, sharpest, most successful rogues. The standard has changed. These men are no longer looked up to. There is a considerable *esprit de corps* of good conduct and progress, and goodness and intellect are respected. There is a strong moral influence among the inmates themselves in favor of good order and good conduct. I believe that the superintendent is almost universally regarded with affection. When I went the rounds with him, all the faces lighted up at his approach; he knew every one; he spoke to this and that one some word of encouragement, or appreciation, or warning, all in the utmost good nature and kindness; and they preferred any request they had to make frankly, but most respectfully. They are encouraged in this frankness of communication. Every day, after work hours, the superintendent receives privately any one that wants to see him, to complain of treatment, to ask advice, to state his difficulties with his study or his work, or to get sympathy; and he summons the delinquents that need warning or correction. This openness of communication, with the tact that makes use of it, is one secret of Mr. Brockway's power and success. He plays upon these six hundred natures individually, as a pianist manipulates his keys. They have absolute confidence in his justice. He never remembers an offense if it is repented of and abandoned. There are no yesterdays in the institution; only to-days and to-morrows. In every case the man is judged and classed, not by what he has done, but by what he does and will do. There is no element of revenge in the treatment.

I cannot here give all the details of this treatment; but, as an illustration of the minuteness of it, I may say that there are three sorts of adverse reports: a neglect report, on pink paper; a dereliction report, on yellow paper; and an offense report, on brown paper. These are offsets to the conduct report, in which the credits are earned. The neglect report notices the least things, in orderly conduct,—arms not folded, bed not properly made, coat not buttoned, necktie not properly tied, shoes not polished, not being at door of cell for count, and so on, for some thirty particulars,—like the discipline at West Point. The man may have in a month five “neglects” and be excused; six cancel a credit mark. Of the dereliction reports, only two are

allowed per month; three cancel a credit. On the brown blanks offenses of a more serious nature are reported; one report may cancel a credit, or degrade in rank, or call for other punishment. Each day the men receive copies of the reports filed against them. The pink notices are signals of "danger." Thus, daily, the men know which way they are going.

A noticeable thing in the treatment here, which distinguishes it from most institutional life that I have seen, is the cultivation of the habit of self-reliance. The responsibility is upon each man to "work out his own salvation," as we say. The vice of ordinary institutional life is the destruction of self-help and self-care. And even here the man's wants are provided for, whatever he does. He is under no anxiety about food and clothes, as free men are. It is proposed to perfect the system here by making a man dependent for what he gets upon what he earns. That is, he will receive such food in the institution as he can pay for by his earnings. I merely state the principle, without going into details. The object is to teach the man how to spend his money as well as how to earn it, so that he shall learn thrift and how to care for himself.

I was much struck with the excellent, it is not too much to say courteous, behavior of the men of the first grade, seated in small groups at dinner. The tables had white table-cloths. One of the number carved; they helped one another politely; they talked quietly and freely. Good manners and courtesy prevailed. It was roast-beef day; and I remarked that the fare was good. "Yes," said Mr. Brockway, "I am inclined to improve in the dietary — plenty that is good, and variety. I find that I get better results in study, work, and behavior, if I feed better." We certainly expect better results in stock-raising and training if we feed well. I give the diet one day in the first grade. Breakfast: corned-beef hash, white bread, coffee and sugar. Dinner: soup, roast beef and gravy, string beans, white bread, coffee and sugar. Supper: dried apples, white bread and butter, syrup, tea and sugar.

I noticed many interesting things in the Reformatory, but I have space only to set down one or two curious psychological observations. There seems to prevail a kind of intellectual honesty, especially in the practical morality class. This is due partly to the fact that these men have no past to bind them — have no fear of expressing their opinions, as men and women in soci-



ety are apt to have, and partly to the fact that they are encouraged to a frank expression. They are in no danger of losing caste by any opinion, and they seem to enjoy saying absolutely what they think on all moral questions that arise. I am quite sure that for various reasons, some creditable and some otherwise, the tendency here is to intellectual honesty. I asked the superintendent what relation this had to moral honesty; whether men cultivating this attitude as to abstract questions would be less likely to lie; and he promised to institute some inquiries and tests on this point.

Another question was this: What is the relation of intellectual ability as shown by the position in the school classes, to standing as shown by the grades? In other words, what is the relation of mental activity and progress to conduct? This is one of the most important inquiries in regard to a reformatory, for the charge is constantly made that education only sharpens criminals, and does not help conduct. The reply is in the following table, which is to me most interesting and encouraging:

ANALYSIS OF SCHOOL POPULATION, BY GRADES.

CLASS.	NUMBER OF MEN IN CLASS.			PERCENTAGE.		
	1st Grade.	2d Grade.	3d Grade.	1st Grade.	2d Grade.	3d Grade.
A. ....	51	31	4	59.3	36	4.7
B. ....	37	36	11	44	42.9	13.1
Supplementary Class. ....	30	18	6	55.6	33.3	11.1
I <sup>1</sup> ....	40	36	14	44.4	40	15.6
I <sup>2</sup> ....	30	58	22	27.3	52.7	20
P <sup>1</sup> ....	12	58	17	13.8	66.7	19.5
P <sup>2</sup> ....	5	33	15	9.4	62.3	28.3
Excused ....	14	5	1	70	25	5

I was led to make this inquiry because I saw in the morality class men of all grades. In this table it will be noticed that in the highest class, A, the percentage of the first-grade men is 59.3, of the second grade, 36, of the third grade, only 4.7. As we pass down in the school classes, the proportions keep changing, until we reach the lowest primary, in which there is only a per-

centage of 9.4 in the first grade, but 62.3 in the second grade, and 28.3 in the third grade. The first grade numbers now about two hundred, and of course contains all the men on the high road to be paroled. The middle grade is most numerous, for all are placed there on entering, and men are constantly passing through it, up or down. The third grade is the smallest.

The large clerical labor is done by the inmates. They set the type and run the hand-press that is kept busy printing the daily reports, the syllabuses for school, etc. The institution publishes also a weekly newspaper, distributed Sunday morning, called "The Summary." It is a small neat sheet of two leaves. A prisoner makes for it a complete condensed summary of the news of the week, excluding all scandal and reports of crime. It contains, besides, local prison news, often letters or extracts from letters of released and paroled men ("graduates"), perhaps a little fun, and brief editorials by the superintendent, who is the editor. It is about the only thoroughly clean family newspaper I know; certainly, there are few journals published outside that are fit to circulate inside this prison. It needs a good world to stand some of our newspapers; a prison can not.

In this simple presentation of what I saw at Elmira lies the answer to the question, whether we can probably better our present treatment of criminals. It remains to add the statistical results of eight years of experiment. I should say, inferentially, that no matter what a man's motive may be in submitting to the hard threefold discipline of this institution, with whatever hypocrisy he might behave well, study hard, and work industriously, some years of such discipline must affect his character and affect it radically; in many cases working a regeneration of his whole moral nature and purpose in life. I do not see how he can be in the habit of well-doing in these three ways for a long time and not be radically changed. In fact, the reports show that eighty per cent. of the men going out from here are reformed. That is to say, they do not again fall under the law; it is not supposed that they become saints, but they are fairly law-abiding, do not commit felonies; as somebody wittily said, the object of the institution is to teach men to steal legally. The men are closely watched for six months after they go out, and a general run is kept of many afterward. Some, of course, are discharged because they have served the maximum time, not because they are fit to go. In many cases, where a man would probably prefer an

honest life, he is so morally debilitated by inheritance and indulgence, that it takes a long time to build up in him enough moral stamina to carry him along safely in life; and the time of detention is often too short. This result—eighty per cent. put in a better way—is astonishing, when we remember that of those ordinarily discharged from State-prisons, sixty per cent. have to be caught and imprisoned again. Certainly that is not a paying thing for the State.

As to economy, I notice by the reports that the Elmira Reformatory does not pay. Its inmates earn by labor from \$60,000 to \$75,000 a year, but the State has to appropriate annually about \$30,000 to carry it on. It is money well spent; for it would cost the State in cash a good deal more than \$30,000 a year to catch, try, and send to prison those who would repeat felonies on being discharged, if these men followed the State-prison rule. And this does not take into account the deprecations they would commit, the injury to individuals, their bad moral influence, nor the cost of police to catch them.

With such results, the Elmira Reformatory is worthy of the most thoughtful attention of tax-payers, as well as of sociologists.

CHARLES DUDLEY WARNER.